

## Chronology of Various Statements and Events During August 1962 - April 1963

July, August and  
September 1962

U. S. naval units photographed all Soviet ships bound for Cuba. Regular reconnaissance flights for Cuba began as early as 1 July.

15 August 1962

Analysis of increased Soviet shipping to Cuba highlights the possibility that the Soviet Union was probably introducing the surface-to-air missile system into Cuba; accordingly, special attention was focused on suspected areas of deployment.

29 August 1962

Positive identification was established of SA-2 surface-to-air missile (SAM) sites.

29 August 1962

### President Kennedy's Press Conference

"The Monroe Doctrine means what it has meant since President Monroe and John Quincy Adams enunciated, and that is that we would oppose a foreign power extending its power to the Western Hemisphere, and that is why we oppose what . . . is happening in Cuba today. That is why we have cut off our trade . . . why we worked in the OAS and in other ways to isolate the Communist menace in Cuba . . .

"why we will continue to give a good deal of our effort and attention to it."

31 August 1962 Congressional Record, p. 17277

Senator Keating discussed Soviet activities in Cuba. Mentioned more ominous reports that the Soviets are constructing missile bases (did not identify type) and sending over technicians and troops to man them. Wanted full story presented to the public.

4 September 1962 NBC Today Program

Senator Keating said there were missiles in Cuba. (SA-2's were in fact there).

Congressional Record, p. 17354

Senator Keating discussed Soviet activities in Cuba.

5 September 1962 Baltimore Sun

Reports that Senator Keating has urged Administration to give serious consideration to ordering interception of all ships carrying arms and armed forces to Cuba.

6 September 1962 Congressional Record, pp. 17642-17647

Senator Keating discussed build-up in Cuba - number of ships arriving with material and troops, Administration description of build-up as defensive rather than offensive, Monroe Doctrine, and threat to U. S. security and Cape Canaveral.

Senator Keating comments on Senator Dodd's discussion of Cuba and the nature of weapons located there and the Monroe Doctrine. On p. 17880, Senator Mansfield refers to Baltimore Sun article of 10 September 1962 article as follows: "Russian 'Horse Trade' Hinted - Keating Says United States May Be Eyeing Cuba - Berlin Deal." Mansfield then read following excerpts of article:

"Senator Keating said today 'a horse trade' with Russia in Cuba and Berlin may be in the wind and branded it as a betrayal . . . . Keating said reports circulating here 'suggest that the Soviet Union may want to put Cuba and Berlin up on the auction block together for a diplomatic deal that would make some of our most hard-boiled negotiators blush . . . . 'In brass-tacks language,' he said, 'it would mean that Premier Krushchev has told President Kennedy, 'you lay off on Berlin, we'll lay off in Cuba. But if you press us in Berlin, then we will put the screws on you in Cuba.' Keating said, 'the United States may well be toying with some Soviet deal to link the two,' adding: 'In some of his recent utterances, the President has spoken of the two crises in the same

breath and has in effect urged a 'wait and see' attitude. ' Keating said the United States must make clear to the people of Cuba and the people of Berlin and to people everywhere, 'that no such deal is in the cards. "' Senator Keating said he was very careful to say the "deal" was a rumor, and the objective of these remarks and others was to stiffen the United States position (p. 17882).

13 September 1962

President Kennedy's Press Conference

"We shall continue to keep the American people and the Congress fully informed. We shall increase our surveillance of the whole Caribbean area. We shall neither initiate nor permit aggression in this hemisphere.

"With this in mind, while I recognize that rash talk is cheap, particularly on the part of those who did not have the responsibility, I would hope that the future record will show that the only people talking about a war and invasion at this time are the Communist spokesmen in Moscow and Havana, and that the American people defending as we do so much of the free world, will in this nuclear age, as they have in the past, keep both their nerve and their head."

17 September 1962

Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Relations and  
the Committee on Armed Services, United States Senate,

17 September 1962, "The Situation in Cuba." In his prepared statement Senator Keating said:

"Certainly with regard to missiles it is my understanding 'that a missile launching' 'facility' for short-range ground-to-air missiles may be transformed in a very short time into a facility for intermediate ground-to-ground missiles." . . . . .

"Of course, some of the activities taken by the United States - many of those activities, may not, for security reasons, be publicly discussed. But this is no justification for not fully disclosing the activities of the Soviets in Cuba, the number of troops or technicians, the types of equipment, the number of missile bases, the length of time required to convert what are now called defensive missile installations to offensive ones, and similar information." . . . . .

Acting Chairman Sparkman asked: "Do you have information that makes you rather positive that the missile bases there now can be converted readily?" Senator Keating: "My information is they can . . . that they are readily convertible into launching facilities for intermediate-range missiles, not long-range missiles."

- 1 October 1962 Secretary of Defense McNamara met with the Joint Chiefs of Staff to discuss intensified Cuban contingency planning.
- 3 October 1962 Admiral Dennison, Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic Command took the initial steps to prepare his forces.
- 3 October 1962 The Foreign Ministers of American Republics labeled Soviet presence in Cuba as a serious security threat to all Western Hemisphere countries.
- 4 October 1962 Joint Congressional resolution of 4 October labeled Soviet presence in Cuba as serious security threat.
- 9 October 1962 Congressional Record, pp. 21661-21667  
Senator Keating discusses his 31 August 1962 and subsequent statements on missiles and those of President Kennedy in terms of surface-to-air missiles (NIKE type).
- 10 October 1962 Congressional Record, p. 21728  
Senator Keating called upon appropriate Government officials to confirm or to deny reports of 6 intermediate range missile bases in Cuba.
- 14 October 1962 Military high altitude reconnaissance discovered and photographed Soviet medium range ballistic missile (MRBM) complex at San Cristobal. During the following week, military preparations for blockading Cuba were completed. Naval units were positioned, air defense of southeastern United States was strengthened, troops required for military action against Cuba began to move into position.

15 October 1962

Aerial photographs taken 14 October 1962 are developed and analyzed. They indicate existence of strategic missiles and sites in Cuba.

15 - 28 Oct. 1962

Chronology of the Cuban Crisis - Tab A

Detailed Chronology prepared on the basis of information provided by the White House Press Office, the Department of Defense Office of Public Affairs, and the State Department Bureau of Public Affairs.

18 October 1962

Foreign Minister Gromyko assures the President that Soviet missile aid to Cuba was intended only for "defensive purposes."

22 October 1962

President Kennedy's Radio - TV Addresses to the Nation

The President describes Soviet action as : "This secret, swift, and extraordinary buildup of Communist missiles -- in an area well known to have a special and historical relationship to the United States and the nations of the western hemisphere, in violation of Soviet assurances, and in the finest of American and hemispheric policy -- this sudden, clandestine decision to station strategic weapons for the first time outside of Soviet soil is deliberately and provocative and unjustified change in the status quo which cannot be accepted."

....."

"This Government, as promised, has maintained the closest surveillance of the Soviet military buildup on the Island of Cuba. In the past week, unmistakable evidence has established the fact that a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation on that imprisoned Island . . . ."

"Our goal is not the victory of might, but the vindication of right -- not peace at the expense of freedom, but both peace and freedom in this hemisphere, and, we hope, around the world. God willing, that goal will be achieved."

23 October 1962

Secretary of Defense McNamara's Press Conference

"First, as many of you know, the President, 30 minutes ago, at 7:00 p.m., signed the proclamation ordering the interdiction of offensive weapons moving into Cuba and under the terms of that proclamation, I have taken the necessary steps to deploy our forces to be in a position to make effective a quarantine at 2:00 p.m. tomorrow Greenwich time."

. . . . .

QUESTION: Norman, Newsweek. "What plans do you have, sir, of either dismantling or neutralizing these fixed or mobile installations of missiles?"

Secretary McNamara: "As I mentioned last night in talking to some of you, the objective of the quarantine is to prevent the movement into Cuba of additional offensive weapons, and to ultimately obtain the withdrawal or elimination of the offensive weapons now located in Cuba. The President, speaking to the Nation last night, stated further action would be taken to achieve the second objective."

24 October 1962

Admiral Dennison established the surface quarantine line.

24 October 1962

Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester's Press Briefing

"We are now able to announce some breakdown of information which has been obtained on Cuba. Release of this information is authorized by the intelligence agencies of the U. S. Government. There are eight to ten bases located in areas near the cities of Guanajay, Remedios, San Cristobal, Sagna LaGrande, with each base having about four launchers, more or less. Reports from all intelligence sources confirm at least 30 missiles, and more than 20 IL-28 jet light bombers are present in Cuba."

25 October 1962

Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester's Press Briefing

Question: "Soviet ships are continuing to Cuba and

"missile construction is continuing, is that right?"

Mr. Sylvester: "Yes."

27 October 1962

Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester's  
Announcement

"The resolution adopted on October 23, 1962 by the Organization of Consultation of the Inter-American System recognized that the security of the Western Hemisphere requires continuous surveillance of Cuba.

"Any interference with such surveillance will meet counteraction and surveillance will be enforced."

Late October 1962

By late October, three major offensive weapons systems were deployed in Cuba by the Soviet Union.

1. The MRBM which had achieved an operational capability.
2. The intermediate range ballistic missile (IRBM) which did not reach an operational status.
3. The IL-28 bombers which also never reached full operational status.

28 October 1962

Chairman Khrushchev agrees to dismantle missile sites and return equipment to the Soviet Union.

30 October 1962

Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester's  
Statement

"I have talked this morning with top officials

"responsible for the evaluation of the results of our aerial surveillance of Cuba. As a consequence I can report the following:

"Analysis of aerial pictures entails a meticulous review of the material disclosed and a painstaking comparison of that material with previously obtained material in order to obtain accurate findings. One has to be careful about making conclusions because there are certain evaluation procedures to be observed in order to insure accuracy of the results obtained. All of this takes time, despite published reports to the contrary. In addition, the time since Chairman Khrushchev's message Sunday morning is too short to allow us to expect conclusive evidence."

2 November 1962

Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester's  
Statement

"The Secretary of Defense announced today that preliminary analysis of the aerial photographs collected by yesterday's reconnaissance mission over Cuba provide clear indications that work is proceeding on the dismantling of the missile sites.

"Now for background, attributable to a Defense Department spokesman, I can tell you the following:

"The missile launch erectors have been removed from the sites. Much of the associated launch equipment has been removed. The cable conduits between the control points and the launch pads have been broken up. The concrete pads at the launch erectors appear to have been broken up by an air hammer. Certain areas of the sites have been plowed and bulldozed.

"We are not specifically saying how many. I am not free to go beyond exactly what I have said. As you notice, we said -- preliminary analysis."

5 - 11 November 1962

The overall intelligence effort confirms beyond reasonable doubt that 42 MRBM missiles were removed from Cuba aboard 8 Soviet ships.

7 November 1962

Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester's Statement

"The Soviet Union has reported that ships are leaving Cuba with missiles aboard. Arrangements are being made with Soviet representatives for contact with these ships by U. S. naval vessels and for counting the missiles being shipped out."

12 November 1962

Department of Defense News Release for the Press

"The following Soviet ships were inspected by U.S.

"Navy ships and observed to be carrying the number of missiles indicated:

<u>Soviet Ship</u>	<u>No. of Missiles</u>	<u>Inspected by</u>
LABINSK	2	U.S.S. LEARY &
BRATSK	2	U.S.S. NEWPORT NEWS
KOMSOMOL	8	U.S.S. OWENS
KURCHATOV	6	U.S.S. NORFOLK
ANASOV	8	U.S.S. BLANDY
DVINOGRORSK	4	U.S.S. BARRY
VOLGOLES	7	U.S.S. BLANDY
POLZONOV	5	U.S.S. VESOLE
		U.S.S. VESOLE"

19 November 1962

Premier Castro announced that if the Soviet Union wished to remove the IL-28 bombers he would not obstruct such a move.

U.S. News and World Report Interview

Senator Keating said he made his first speech on the military build-up in Cuba on 31 August 1962. Between 31 August 1962 and 12 October 1962 he made 10 Senate speeches and 14 other public statements or speeches in which he urged that something be done about this build-up.

He did not understand why there were no U-2 flights from 5 September to 14 October 1962. Does not believe our information is sufficiently accurate to know the number of missiles the Soviets have in Cuba, even though we could count those being taken out.

20 November 1962

President Kennedy's Press Conference

" . . . Chairman Khrushchev . . . agreed to remove from Cuba all weapons systems capable of offensive use, to halt the further introduction of such weapons into Cuba, and to permit appropriate U. N. observation and supervision to insure the carrying out and continuation of these commitments. We, on our part, agreed that once these adequate arrangements for verification had been established, we would remove our naval quarantine and give assurances against invasion of Cuba. "

28 November 1962

New York Herald Tribune

"Senator Kenneth B. Keating, R., N. Y., said yesterday in his return from a trip abroad that the Cuban situation is "still critical . . . . We are back where we were a few months ago, but not as far back as we were a few years ago. ' . . . . "

5 -6 December 1962

42 IL-28 bombers were removed from Cuba. All of the 42 IL-28 bombers and 36 of the missile/transporters were uncovered for photographic and visual along-side inspection, while Soviet vessels were at sea and the remainder of the missiles were observed and covered in exactly the same observable condition at the specific missile sites.

Photographic evidence also supported the outloading and outshipping of missile erectors and of fuel and oxidizer trailers.

7 January 1963

Protracted U.S. - USSR negotiations in the UN on Cuban crisis are formerly ended.

14 January 1963

Baltimore Sun

"Senator Keating, (R., N.Y.) contended today that Cuba's Fidel Castro is 'ten times better equipped' militarily than he was last spring.

"Castro, Keating said, 'has 144 missile launchers, 24 bases, and 500 anti-aircraft missiles, some of them the most modern in existence, and 20,000 troops.'

"Keating made these observations on a program taped for use on New York television stations. . . . "

24 January 1963

Baltimore Sun

". . . Senator Keating (R., N.Y.), who was one of the first to sound the alarm last year over reports of offensive Soviet missiles in Cuba, said he has 'confirmed by official government sources' that a new intensive build-up is under way.

"He said it involves tanks, guns, amphibious vehicles, large amounts of ammunition, planes, torpedo boats and other Soviet weapons pouring into the island . . . .

"Keating claimed Cuba 's now ten times stronger than it was July 1 just before the Soviet missiles and bombers..... were added there.

"He said the weapons include MIG fighter planes capable of carrying nuclear weapons with a range that could cover many areas in the United States and Latin America. . . .

'All I am telling you is in the hands of Government officials . . . I made no statement which was not confirmed by official sources.' "

31 January 1963

Congressional Record, pp. 1388-1389

Senator Keating said, "The Soviet build-up in Cuba is mounting anew and exceedingly serious evidence arrives daily." He referred to President Kennedy's 24 January press conference in which the President had stated that there was evidence of only one large vessel carrying predominantly military equipment in Cuba since October 1962. "The very next day on Friday, January 25, a second large vessel arrived. Under maximum security conditions, it unloaded a carload of armaments."

"The route followed by these two ships is generally termed a 'maximum security route;' a passage traveled by the Soviets through areas where the U.S. is at least

able to maintain adequate surveillance of ships' contents.' "

"It is also, ominously enough, the identical route followed last summer by the first of the Soviet vessels carrying medium-range, ground-to-ground missiles into Cuba."

". . . there is continuing, absolutely confirmed and undeniable evidence that the Soviets are maintaining and guarding the medium-range sites they had previously constructed in Cuba. There has been no Soviet move to dismantle these concrete sites or withdraw the launching bases, as one might expect if the Soviets intended in good faith to keep these missiles out of Cuba in the future."

"On the contrary, the Soviets' 24-hour maintenance of these sites gives rise to the very real possibility that Russia hopes to return the heavy missiles to the island and get them into commission -- or, even more ominous -- that they may have missiles left on the island and need only to move them out of caves. Let me make clear that I have no confirmed evidence now that there are still ground-to-ground missiles or mobile missile launchers or aimers for these missiles in Cuba but the Soviet activity around these sites cannot help but raise a number of serious

"questions. Without on-site inspection, it is hard to see how we will ever know for sure the true missile situation in Cuba."

Later he said, "We will have to abandon Latin America or get rid of this cancer."

1 February 1963

Washington Post

Reports that "Senator Kenneth B. Keating (R. N. Y.) told the Senate yesterday that the Soviet Union is pressing a new military buildup in Cuba. He called on the Kennedy Administration for the facts."

"The Defense Department replied by challenging two specific statements by Keating:

"(1) That a Soviet ship arrived in Cuba last Friday and 'unloaded a cargo of armaments,' and (2) that there is 'continuing, absolutely confirmed and undeniable evidence that the Soviets are maintaining' the missile bases that led to last October's crisis."

. . . .

"A Defense Department spokesman said: "Within a few days of the President's press conference last week, two large Soviet ships, *Koslov* and *Baltica*, did arrive in Cuba. There is no evidence that either carried offensive weapons."

"As to Keating's statement that the Soviets are continuing to maintain the missile sites they agreed to dismantle, the Pentagon spokesman said:

"Concrete launch pads were broken up and other parts of the installations were destroyed. There is no evidence that these sites are useable, that they are being used for any military purpose, or that they are being maintained.' "

. . . .

" ' Missiles, transporters and missile erectors were photographed en route to and at port areas, being loaded aboard ships, and aboard ships in route to the USSR', he said."

6 February 1963

Senator Keating's Letter to the Secretary of Defense

Senator Keating refers to his 13 and 24 January 1963 statements in which he made four points regarding the Soviet military build-up in Cuba. He wanted to know wherein Defense information differed from his own in regard to these statements. His fourth point was, "I stated that the medium (not intermediate) range missile sites (not the missiles or the mobile equipment or the launchers) are still in place, under Soviet Surveillance and that equipment and launchers could be moved into place even more quickly now than was the case in September."

Senator Keating's Press Conference Held Before  
Secretary McNamara's Television Appearance 6  
February 1963, As Reported in Baltimore Sun on  
7 February 1963.

"He said one of his principal complaints was that the American people were not getting all the facts on Soviet military activities in Cuba."

"Keating said the Administration must share the blame with those critics who have made 'extreme allegations' (he did not include himself in this category) for the wide-spread confusion and misunderstanding that exists."

"In answer to questions, Keating said he did not dispute the Defense Department's contention that the Russians had destroyed concrete launching pads for 2,200-mile intermediate-range missiles."

"But he added that hard-topped and gravel sites for the 1,000-mile medium range missiles were still intact."

"If McNamara could prove him wrong, Keating vowed, 'I'll eat my hat on the steps right in front of this (Senate Office) building'."

Secretary of Defense McNamara's Special Cuba  
Briefing on Nationwide Television

During a two-hour briefing, Secretary McNamara supported by Mr. John Hughes, Defense Intelligence Agency, reviewed evidence that all offensive missiles and bombers known to have been delivered to Cuba have been removed. Secretary McNamara affirmed specifically that "The only Soviet weapons that we can detect in the Island are defensive."

Senator Keating's Remarks to Press After Secretary  
McNamara's Television Appearance 6 February 1963,  
as Reported in Philadelphia Inquirer on 7 February 1963.

After Secretary McNamara's television appearance, Senator Keating said, "It is interesting to note that the Secretary did not dispute in any manner any of the statements that I have made." Keating said he would not have to keep a vow to eat his hat if he had been wrong.

7 February 1963

President Kennedy's Press Conference

"Question. . . Defense Secretary McNamara apparently failed to convince some Republicans that all offensive weapons are withdrawn from Cuba. What more, if anything, do you believe the Administration can do to convince some of the critics?"

"Answer... I don't know what more we can do.  
Mr. McNamara went to great length. As he pointed out, he exposed a good deal of information, and also he went further than under ordinary conditions we would have liked to have gone in telling our story.

"Now he has asked, and I endorse, and Mr. McCone has asked, that if anybody has any information in regard to the presence of any military force or weapons on the island of Cuba, I think they should make it available to General Carroll, who is in charge of Intelligence for the Department of Defense -- if they would turn that information over.

"Now we get hundreds of reports every month and we try to check them out. A good many are just rumors or reports, and even some members of Congress who may have come forward either refuse to say where they heard the information or provide us with reports which do not have substance to them. . . .

"This issue involves very definitely war and peace, and when you talk about the presence of offensive weapons there, if they are there, I think the Soviet Union is aware and Cuba is aware that we would be back where in October

"but in a far more concentrated way. . .

"Now as I said, these things may all come about and we may find ourselves again with the Soviet Union toe to toe, but we ought to know what we have in our hands before we bring the U. S. and ask our allies to come with us to the brink again. "

8 February 1963

Baltimore Sun

"Senator Keating (R., N. Y.) today gave John A. McCone, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, his detailed recommendations for a 'course of action' to deal with the Soviet military concentration in Cuba . . . Keating said McCone had informed him the recommendations would be transmitted to President Kennedy today . . . Keating said he had turned over to the CIA Chief new information on the Soviet build-up in Cuba that he has not released to the public and has not been able to confirm." . . .

"A member of the Senator's staff said before the meeting that Keating had no intention of telling McCone the sources of his information in Cuba. "

Paper Handed to Director of Central Intelligence by Senator Kenneth B. Keating, 8 February 1963.

Senator Keating's position paper on Cuba contained three policy objectives: (1) removal of all Soviet-bloc

forces, weapons and other military equipment from Cuba; (2) prevention of spread of communism from Cuba to other points; and (3) downfall of communist regime and its replacement by a freely elected constitutional government. In summary, Keating's recommended policy was:

1. Provide full information with regard to the nature of the menace provided by the continued existence of a Soviet-bloc military base in Cuba. Discard the sharp distinction between offensive and defensive weapons and emphasize that the presence of Soviet MIGS, torpedo boats, tanks, missiles and other equipment in Cuba cannot be tolerated. Make it clear that in the absence of on-site inspection, it is impossible to obtain adequate assurance that nuclear weapons are not in or will not be brought into Cuba.
2. Embark on an effective and increasingly severe program of economic sanctions.
3. Simultaneously with the application of these economic sanctions, steps should be taken to increase the effectiveness of anti-communist propaganda inside Cuba, to infiltrate Castro agencies, to encourage guerrilla activities, and to block Castro-inspired terrorism in Latin America.

10 February 1963    ABC Program "Issues and Answers"

Under Secretary of State Ball admonished a nationwide television audience: "Now is the time to stop all this talking and watch the situation and let it develop."

11 February 1963    U. S. News and World Report Interview

In response to questions, Senator Keating reiterated the substance of his 31 January 1963 Senate remarks on the ships bearing military equipment to Cuba.

Question. . . "How much do the Soviets have in Cuba now in the way of military weapons and troops?"

Answer . . . "In giving you an estimate, I am going to assume that the long-range and medium-range missiles and the Soviet bombers that were discovered there last autumn are now out of Cuba."

Question. . . "Is there proof that all of those missiles and bombers have been removed?"

Answer. . . "No. As the Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, said recently, the only way to prove that is by an on-site inspection. You can't prove that by taking pictures of a ship at sea.

But, in what I am about to say, I am going to assume that those missiles and bombers are out of there as we have been told they are.

"Even if they are out when you take it soldier for soldier, MIG fighter plane for MIG fighter plane, torpedo boat for torpedo boat, tank for tank, gun for gun and weapon for weapon, the strength of the Russian military base in Cuba now is ten times greater than it was on July 1 of last summer . . . "

Question. . . "Is it also greater than it was last October?"

Answer. . . "With the exception of the bombers, and ground-to-ground missiles, yet, it is . . . . They are continuing to maintain medium-range missile sites . . . . This gives rise to the very real possibility that the Russians hope to return heavy missiles to Cuba or -- even more ominous -- is they may have missiles left on the Island and need only to wheel them out of caves."

Question. . . "Do you have any evidence that any Soviet missiles or bombers remain in Cuba today?"

Answer. . . "No. I have no evidence that there are -- or that there aren't -- and I don't believe there is any way of finding that out except to go there and look."

After questions and answers on the number of MIG fighters and their capability to carry nuclear weapons and range, the following question was asked:

"How would you classify these weapons that Russia is sending into Cuba? Are they defensive or offensive?"

Answer. . . "I think that's a misleading distinction to make. A tank or a MIG fighter or a gun has both offensive and defensive capabilities. It's a little hard to view torpedo boats or amphibious vehicles as defensive weapons. They seem to have more of an offensive than a defensive character but perhaps it would be fairer to say that anti-aircraft guns and ammunition, on the other hand, have greater defensive than offensive connotation. "

13 February 1963 Baltimore Sun

In Albany, New York, Senator Keating said the Kennedy Administration still has not given the American people the full facts on the "Soviet build-up" in Cuba.

28 February 1963 Congressional Record, pp. 2790-2798

In a statement urging a more realistic bi-partisan Cuban policy, Senator Keating stated, "The truth is that there is no coherent and consistent policy toward Cuba to which to give bi-partisan support." Later he said, "But it is interesting to recall that one of the principal reasons given for the Bay of Pigs invasion at the time

"was the arrival and imminent deployment of a great supply of Soviet weapons, including among them MIG's. In other words, in the early months of 1961, our Government officials were sufficiently concerned over the presence of MIG's in Cuba to proceed with a plan for even military action against Castro. Yet, today, we are told that the same MIG's -- in fact, even later and better models than those available to Castro in April 1961 -- are no cause for concern and no threat whatsoever to the U.S. or to our Latin American friends."

Senator Keating then cast doubt on whether all "strategic missiles were removed from Cuba. "It is not hard to understand why the American people are confused when they are first told that on-site inspection is essential and then that no such inspection is needed. Let me quote a statement made by the Deputy Secretary of Defense, Roswell L. Gilpatric on November 11, 1962. When he was asked how the United States could be certain that the Soviets left no missiles behind without on-site inspection, Mr. Gilpatric replies:

"We never know how many missiles were brought into Cuba. The Soviets said there were 42. We

"I have counted 42 going out. We saw fewer than 42. Until we have so called on-site inspection of the island of Cuba, we could never be sure that 42 was the maximum number that the Soviets brought into Cuba."

"Contrast with that statement Secretary McNamara's unqualified assurance that our security is being fully safeguarded without on-site inspection. In his nationwide television presentation, Secretary McNamara declared:

"I am satisfied that there are no major elements of offensive weapons systems in the caves of Cuba. It is unlikely beyond any reasonable doubt that offensive weapons systems equipment could not (sic) have been unloaded and moved into caves without out detection."

"And yet he did not deny that the Government had no record of the number of missiles originally brought to Cuba. And it is a fact even now that U. S. knowledge of the cargo of certain vessels landing in Cuba is considerably less than we would like. The Director of the CIA

"made his position clear when he admitted that without on-site inspection, we can have no absolute assurances that these missiles have been completely removed."

25 February 1963

Secretary Rusk calls the Soviet presence in this hemisphere "unacceptable."

4 March 1963

Congressional Record, p. 3334

Senator Keating discussed contradictions on Cuba.

"There are disturbing indications that an attempt is being made to use the intelligence community as a scapegoat and whipping boy for the present crisis of confidence in the Government's handling of the Cuban situation . . . . In my judgment, however, we would be placing the onus on the wrong source if we blamed the fact gatherers rather than the policy makers for the failure to give the American people an accurate and complete picture of Communist activities in Cuba."

7 March 1963

Congressional Record, p. 3457

Senator Keating inserted two Washington Post editorials into the Congressional Record, one dealing with "no peace with Cuba" and the other with "past and future in Cuba."

Senator Keating commented on the second editorial as follows:

"It suggests that distinction between a defensive and offensive weapons may have been erroneous or largely a 'semantic one . . . These editorials clarify the perils of the present situation, and in my judgment, emphasize the need for a firm and effective policy to meet the problem, a policy which, so far as I know, has not been made evident."

4 April 1963

Congressional Record, pp. 5438-5441

Senator Keating discussed recommendations derived from a position paper on Cuba which he submitted on 8 February 1963 to the President and to Mr. John McCone, "Director of CIA.

Senator Keating said that on 19 February he inquired whether at that time it was considered advisable to discuss publicly these recommendations. On 20 February, he said he was advised by Mr. McCone that the President was not attempting to inhibit any Senator from discussing any matter but that the President felt that disclosure of these subjects at that time might be harmful and might adversely affect the promised Soviet troop withdrawal anticipated before mid-March 1963. Senator Keating said that he felt under the circumstances he should not

go counter to the President's views regardless as to whether he agreed with the rationale of the decision. Now that the entire month of March had passed and only a limited number of Soviet personnel had apparently been withdrawn he saw no further reason to maintain silence.

18 December 1963    Remarks on CBS Television Program "CBS REPORTS: JOHN F. KENNEDY -- THE VIEW FROM THE CABINET"

Sevareid: "What was the real thing that happened in the Cuban confrontation? Was that really a turning point in our whole relationship with Russia?"

McNamara: "Yes, I think so. I think it not only demonstrated our force, but it also demonstrated our will and of course, one without the other provides a weak foundation for foreign policy."